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President: Mr. Han Seung-soo ..... (Republic of Korea)

The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

Agenda item 166 (*continued*)

Measures to eliminate international terrorism

Report of the Secretary-General (A/56/160 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Mr. Niehaus (Costa Rica) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like at the outset to thank you, Sir, for having allowed the participation of the Mayor of New York City, Mr. Rudolph Giuliani, in this morning's meeting.

On 11 September, this city fell victim to the most heinous and despicable terrorist attack in world history. On that day, New York became a symbol of irrational violence and hatred and an incomprehensible image of grief and destruction. However, since then, this town has raised itself, shaken off the dust and faced adversity courageously. Today, New York is a true example of humanity and solidarity and a symbol of courage and fortitude against evil. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to convey to the Mayor, through you, the condolences of the people and Government of Costa Rica and our deepest feelings of brotherhood at this difficult time to the people of New York and of the United States as a whole.

Costa Rica most categorically condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, wherever and by whomever committed. We recognize terrorism as a most serious crime against humanity that victimizes the innocent civil population as a whole and threatens the entire international community. There is no political, philosophical, racial, ethnic or religious motive that justifies this crime. My country condemns most categorically all those States and political groups that promote, support or finance the commission of terrorist acts.

The recent events call for a coordinated response of the international community against the scourge of terrorism. When faced by the cruelty of fear and hatred, we must raise up the flag of civilization, tolerance and brotherhood. Before irrational violence, we must take up the arms of reason, law and order. Against terrorism, we must resort to the rule of law, to justice and to due process through international legal and police-work cooperation. We must create new models of public security and mature police institutions that can protect our societies effectively. It is urgent to formally proscribe the transfer of weapons and funds to all rebel, extremist and terrorist groups, as well as to those Governments that support them.

We must be aware, however, that the prevention of terrorist attacks cannot be limited to the adoption of police measures. A real war against terrorism will require us to confront and rectify the political and economic injustices that feed hatred and conflict. The fight against terrorism requires courage to overcome fear and hatred, fortitude not to fall into the cycle of violence and bravery to choose the best instrument against the criminals. We must therefore avoid the danger of making martyrs out of the terrorists.

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In the long run, respect for human rights and democracy in all spheres of life is the best protection against terrorism. We are well aware that political oppression, extreme poverty and the violation of basic rights are the essential fuels of extremism and terrorism. Conversely, true and sustainable peace is born out of mutual respect, dialogue and the renunciation of violence. That is why it will be possible to eradicate terrorism only once a decent quality of life is guaranteed to every person, fundamental rights are respected and political disputes are solved through democratic means.

The fight against terrorism should drive us to create more tolerant and open societies. We should not allow ourselves to be carried away by intolerance and hatred. We cannot lapse into oppressing religious or ethnic minorities. The war against terrorism neither justifies the use of totalitarian methods nor legitimizes the existence of dictatorial regimes. On the contrary, the fight against this scourge must follow closely the principles of human rights. We will be able to overcome terrorism only once we adopt a true culture of peace and life.

To create such a culture of peace, all nations must work to increase awareness at all levels of society. In this regard, my country is making its own contribution through the University for Peace, an institution of higher education devoted to provide training in academic disciplines that promote peaceful relations among peoples and individuals. We should increase such efforts so as to broaden the context for the full achievement of global peace.

In the context of this General Assembly session, we welcome the progress achieved by both the Ad Hoc Committee and the working group responsible for drafting a series of legal instruments to prohibit and punish terrorism in all its forms. My delegation has taken an active part in that work, and we have been honoured with a vice-chairmanship of the Committee. Costa Rica recently ratified the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, which was drafted by the Committee, and we are finalizing the ratification process for the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. In the light of the recent events, my delegation believes that the working group should this year finalize the drafting of a comprehensive convention against terrorism. My delegation believes that such a comprehensive convention must preserve the delicate balance between the obligation to punish those responsible for such crimes within the legal system of each State and the need to ensure respect for due process and the basic rights of the accused, as existing instruments have done. My delegation also believes that the draft convention should guarantee the customary human rights principle of non-refoulement.

Furthermore, we believe that a comprehensive convention should preserve the integrity of international humanitarian law, which establishes clear conditions for undertaking military operations and makes no provision for granting immunity to those who commit terrorist attacks within the context of an armed conflict. This prohibition, which applies both to States and to combatants fighting for their right to self-determination in the context of a non-international conflict, should be properly reflected in the text of the convention.

A few days ago, we witnessed a bloody and atrocious act of international terrorism. Those despicable acts shocked the conscience of all humanity. Under today's difficult circumstances, the world is looking to the United Nations for leadership. The decisions made over the past few days in the Security Council and the General Assembly are a first step in that direction. Now it is for each of us to implement those measures.

Mr. Ordzhonikidze (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): This session of the General Assembly is taking place in the immediate aftermath of the tragedy that occurred in the United States on 11 September. The entire civilized world is mourning with the American people. The hearts of Russians, who know first-hand what terrorism is like, are filled with grief for all those who fell victim to terrorist acts in another part of the world.

In the statement that he made on the day of the tragedy, the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, expressed sincere and profound condolences to all who were injured and to the families of those who were killed, and stressed that the unprecedented terrorist aggression against the United States was an outright challenge to all humanity. The tragedy has underscored the fact that the international community does not have a single day to lose. Humankind is facing not an abstract, but a real, threat to people's lives, to the security of States and to the stability of the political and economic systems of entire

nations, posed by the forces of international terrorism. That threat has acquired unprecedented proportions: in a matter of minutes, innocent people from more than 60 States perished, and enormous economic damage was done, the consequences of which have yet to be fully assessed.

All sensible people throughout the world, even those who do not deal professionally with law enforcement issues, now understand that only by working together can we put an end to terrorism in the world. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Mr. Ivanov, speaking during the 7th plenary meeting of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly, said that the international community was facing the tremendous task of responding adequately and, most importantly, collectively to the challenges of our time.

Terrorism is not only a dangerous, but an insidious enemy; it takes advantage of any weak link in the chain of States that fight against it. We are particularly concerned about the expanding ties between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illegal drug-trafficking, money-laundering and illegal trafficking in nuclear, chemical, biological and other hazardous materials. That is why we, for our part, are not only ready for, but insist on, the closest possible interaction among members of the international community in fighting against this scourge of the twenty-first century. The priority task is to establish a global system to counteract new threats and challenges that would, inter alia, ensure certain punishment for all those responsible for organizing and perpetrating terrorist acts. There is no doubt that the key role of universal coordinator of States' efforts to create such a system should be played by the United Nations.

It is now particularly important to create an international legal framework that makes it possible to respond effectively and promptly to acts of terrorism and to prevent them. The 12 universal conventions dealing with the issue, many of which were adopted under United Nations auspices, provide a solid basis for anti-terrorist cooperation among States. In our rapidly changing world, however, this foundation needs to be strengthened on an ongoing basis. In this connection, we expect the General Assembly to adopt, as soon as possible, two new instruments that are now under consideration: a convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism and a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. We must not forget that every minute that passes before the adoption of those two vital instruments will be used by terrorists to develop their potential.

For its part, Russia is doing its best to ensure that a sound international legal system is in place for fighting terrorism. This year our country ratified the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation and the Protocol thereto. Our country is thus now a party to most of the universal anti-terrorist conventions.

It is especially important for the Security Council to embark upon a substantive discussion of international terrorism. The Council gave a clear and timely exposition of its fundamental approach and action programme in this field in resolution 1269 (1999), adopted as a result of a Russian initiative, and in resolution 1368 (2001). Another major milestone on the path towards eradicating terrorism was reached last week when the Security Council adopted resolution 1373 (2001). For the first time ever, a resolution has initiated a mechanism for the Security Council to exercise international control over compliance by all States with United Nations decisions in combating terrorism. We see it as a serious step towards an effective response to terrorist threats, especially with respect to blocking its channels of financing and banning the operations of organizations that essentially act as accomplices to terrorists. It is important for this mechanism to start working effectively as soon as possible. The full and unconditional implementation of measures provided for in that document is a must if we are to deal a powerful blow to the forces of international terrorism and deprive them of their roots and refuge across the globe. In accordance with its mandate determined by the United Nations Charter, the Security Council should keep playing an active part in preventing the threats to international peace and security posed by terrorism.

With respect to enhancing United Nations anti-terrorist capacity, we should not overlook the need to strengthen the relevant structures of the Secretariat. In this context, we could discuss the prospects of reinforcing the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention in Vienna with additional staff and financial resources. This issue is important for providing

technical support to States as they comply with their obligations under the universal anti-terrorist conventions and United Nations decisions in this sphere.

We are confident that the future global anti-terrorist system should be built on the foundation of regional and subregional structures and institutions active in this field. In this context, we attach great importance to relevant work carried out within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

In 1999, the heads of Governments of the CIS countries signed a Treaty on Cooperation among CIS Member States in Combating Terrorism, which forms the legal framework for interaction among competent authorities in preventing, disclosing, suppressing and investigating terrorist attacks. The Antiterrorist Centre established last year by the Council of the heads of CIS States is now in operation. The position of the CIS with regard to the tragedy of 11 September and the resolute desire of the member countries to rebuff international terrorism were reflected in the joint statement by the heads of member States made on 28 September. The statement stresses, in particular, the need to take concrete steps to ensure the effectiveness of anti-terrorist measures.

We expect a lot from the anti-terrorist structure that is being actively formed within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. We would also like to express our great appreciation of the interaction in fighting international terrorism pursued within the framework of the Group of Eight.

The elimination of international terrorism is a goal that will take a long time to achieve. However, this only means that we should start moving towards this goal without delay.

Mr. Bennouna (Morocco) (*spoke in French*): First, the Kingdom of Morocco reiterates its unambiguous and firm position in condemning without reservation terrorism in all its forms and regardless of its origin or perpetrators.

It is true that the United Nations has been debating the issue of terrorism for thirty years. This question has been the subject of thorough and often controversial deliberations that have led to the adoption of numerous declarations and conventions aimed at fighting this scourge and developing the international legal instruments to combat it. However, the tragic events of unprecedented scope that plunged New York, Washington and Pennsylvania into mourning on 11 September have shaken our collective conscience so much that we are forced to reconsider the approach used so far in combating terrorism.

It is certain that the process of globalization we are experiencing does not require only the globalization of rules but also the strengthening of the international institutions and their adaptation to the new issues involved.

In this context, my country is resolved, after the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 1373 (2001) on 28 September 2001, to comply with all the decisions contained in it and to cooperate fully with the international mechanism to supervise its implementation. We will also continue our cooperation with all other countries in order to intensify the fight against terrorism, and we will make sure to accelerate our participation in all relevant legal instruments. We will fully support India's comprehensive draft convention on this subject, and we will do our best so that it can be finalized during this session.

No doubt the purpose behind the attacks directed at innocent civilians in the United States was to spread terror and panic through this country and the world. But the attacks also undoubtedly aimed at triggering a clash of civilizations and religions. This is the danger of terrorist acts, which by their very nature carry the seeds of unprecedented threats to international peace and security. The threats of this new type aim to set off conflicts between religious or cultural groups — the dire premise of a return to barbarism.

The terrorists who struck thousands of people in the United States and sent thousands of families into mourning wanted at the same time to destroy the common values of all humanity: tolerance, the respect for differences and the acceptance of a diversity of cultures and civilizations. In the end, it is the heritage of all of us, our beliefs, our spirituality and our abiding creativity that are being targeted.

We would like to pay our respects to the innocent victims and to express our compassion to their families. At the same time, we would also like to emphasize that in such situations, and as a general rule, we should avoid equating the acts of certain criminals with the behaviour of a religious community or of any

cultural group. This was energetically affirmed by the authorities of the host country, at all levels.

We would like to take this opportunity to recall the constant position of the Kingdom of Morocco. Any attempt to hold one group responsible for the acts of a few of its extremist members paves the way, undoubtedly, to serious attacks on human beings that vary from everyday racism — though racism cannot be considered normal — to institutionalized discrimination and even to crimes against humanity.

The Kingdom of Morocco is convinced that any culture or nation can emerge, thrive and sustain itself only through multiple contributions and numerous influences. There is no such thing as a "pure" civilization. We are all in some way "impure", with varied characteristics. His Majesty King Mohammed VI stressed in his throne speech of 30 July the relationship between democracy and respect for regional cultural characteristics. His Majesty reached the conclusion that there exists in Morocco a pluralist identity

> "built on diverse contributions — namely, Amazigh, Arabic, sub-Saharan, African and Andalusian, all of which constitute valuable components that have refined and enriched our identity, thanks to an openness to and an interaction with a large variety of cultures and civilizations".

The recognition of the pluralism within this identity by His Majesty the King in no way affects the homogeneity of the Moroccan nation as a whole; rather, it should ensure the strengthening and greater cohesion of the nation, and thereby its ability to cooperate more broadly with all neighbouring countries. This vision, which harmoniously integrates diversity and unity, is a source of hope for the future of the Arab Maghreb, an area of privileged relations between Europe and Africa.

The sectoral approach, which has been used for a definition of terrorist acts in international conventions with a view to criminalizing these acts, has proven to be inadequate to fight this scourge. On the other hand, all those who believed that the mere invocation of the term "terrorism" would suffice to heap shame and discredit on "the Other", who is always the enemy, unfortunately trivialized the concept of terrorism. It is, therefore, high time for our Organization to start a process of clarifying the concept of terrorism in light of recent developments in international law and particularly the adoption of the Statute of the International Criminal Court in Rome in July 1998. Henceforth — and this is the most important innovation — notorious criminals can no longer seek refuge within State borders and invoke the principle of non-interference.

The end of the twentieth century has also signalled the end of philosophies that, in line with Machiavellianism, justify the means, however despicable, for the sake of political goals.

Indeed, therein lies the crux of any definition of terrorism. Any indiscriminate act against innocent civilians constitutes a terrorist crime that international law condemns, regardless of the perpetrator's status or position in State hierarchy. As stated this morning by the Mayor of New York City, there can be no moral relativism. From now on, he said, there are limits to the extent to which any organization, underground or official, could go in the use of given means.

Needless to say, exceptions to the non-use of force apply in the case of a country defending itself against an act of aggression or an armed attack or when action is authorized by the Security Council under its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

However, even recourse to the legitimate use of force must be adapted to the objective sought, be it self-defence, the pursuit and prosecution of criminals, or the restoration of international peace and security under a Security Council resolution. This is why any retaliation must not be excessive and must avoid further endangerment of innocent lives.

Here I would mention just a few famous authors — Montesquieu or Hobbes, for example — who remind us that security is the primary form of freedom. But we also must see to it that the pursuit of security does not jeopardize the freedom of individuals themselves. In this connection, our Organization has an essential role to play in allowing the voice of the international community to be heard, which must also be the voice of reason. That voice of reason — the voice of the international community — must address the serious imbalances that still plague our planet and that drive disadvantaged groups in cultural and religious seclusion to seek refuge in extremism.

While, as I have said, security concerns should be addressed with due regard to cultural particularities, this security will not be universal unless solutions are found to the dire poverty being experienced by increasing numbers of people. It will not become universal until solutions are found to the flagrant humiliation and injustice affecting people worldwide, making victims of entire populations, including children and the most vulnerable groups, either in Palestine or elsewhere. Restoring hope to the oppressed must figure among the priorities of the community of nations.

The Kingdom of Morocco, as an Arab and Muslim country, has consistently advocated, in all international forums, dialogue among religions, cultures and civilizations. Need we recall that Morocco was the first Arab-Muslim country to be visited by His Holiness the Pope in 1985. More recently, Moroccan religious dignitaries prayed in Rabat, the Moroccan capital, on the day after the tragic event of 11 September, in unison with representatives of the Christian and Jewish communities. And for a very good reason we prayed as sons of Abraham, whose message has been carried on by all prophets and messengers shared by us all.

It is not just now that we Muslims have learned to advocate and practise tolerance. As early as the thirteenth century, the great mystic scholar Jalaluddin Rumi delivered to us this inspiring message of tolerance, which will be my concluding words:

> "Oh Muslims, you are asking me who I am ... I am partly from here and partly from everywhere ... I am partly of pearls and partly from remote shores ...".

Mr. Enkhsaikhan (Mongolia): International reaction to the terrorist attacks of 11 September on our host city of New York, on Washington, D.C., and on Pennsylvania has been overwhelming, swift and unreserved. The world community has not only strongly condemned these barbaric acts, but it also has reiterated its determination to fight all manifestations of terrorism. The reaction of States from around the world, the unanimous resolutions adopted by the Security Council on 12 and 28 September, as well as those adopted by this Assembly as its first order of business on 12 September, clearly demonstrate that the resolve of States to fight this global scourge is not only strong, but that it is also being reinvigorated. In fact, my delegation believes that these tragic events are having a deep impact both on international relations and on peoples' minds around the world. New realities need equally new approaches.

The Mongolian people has resolutely condemned these terrorist acts as criminal and directed against all humanity, and has underlined that it considers that their ultimate target was peace, freedom and democracy. Bearing in mind the grave nature of these acts for international peace and security, the National Security Council of Mongolia has specifically considered its possible ramifications for international relations as a whole, and the Government of Mongolia has asked the Secretary-General to convene an emergency session of the General Assembly to discuss practical ways and means of combating terrorism.

Consideration of this item in plenary meetings is seen by this delegation not only as an expression of the unity of the international community in the face of these heinous acts of terrorism, but also as an opportunity for brainstorming, which should be followed up by concrete actions at the national, regional and international levels. The past three weeks have been revealing in this respect. They have seen Member States take important steps both among themselves and through the United Nations to reinvigorate the fight against this scourge. Thus, a coalition is being formed that is resolved to pursue perpetrators, organizers and funders of the terrorist acts of 11 September. The coalition's determination to act is evident, and this time tangible results might be achieved. The world needs good and encouraging news.

It seems that the coalition rightly believes that its actions will yield practical and long-term results if a much broader and permanent coalition is built around the United Nations, for military operations, however successful, would not be sufficient to root out terrorism. The full force of national laws and international norms, together with addressing the root causes of terrorism, is needed.

The first, swift political reaction of the Security Council on 12 September was followed up on 28 September by a decision on more practical measures, as reflected in resolution 1373 (2001). My delegation believes that full implementation of all 23 of its concrete provisions will be important for successfully waging the struggle. The invocation of Chapter VII of

the Charter, the decision of the Council to set up a committee to monitor implementation of the resolution and its call on Member States to report to the committee on its implementation within 90 days are indeed signs of the international community's determination to seriously address this problem. This resolve should be fully supported.

Mongolia, like other States, takes its responsibility seriously. It is a party to all the conventions that are practically implementable by it. It intends to become a party to the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism in the near future. Mongolia's adherence to the international conventions to combat specific manifestations of terrorism is based on its firm belief that international terrorism affects all, and that therefore all States, including those that are not directly affected by terrorism, can make a difference. The latter can deny safe haven to terrorists, the transit of terrorists through their territories, the transit through their territory of the sources of their financing or of the perpetration of terrorist acts, and so forth.

Following the line of least resistance, it cannot be ruled out that terrorists could contemplate pursuing their aims in or through small and weaker States, seeing in them "the weak link" in opposing or fighting terrorism. Moreover, it is clear that Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), including its provisions concerning prevention, early warning, exchange of operational information, investigation, prosecution and so forth, can be successfully implemented only with the active participation of all States of the international community.

We all agree that the United Nations should move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention. This applies to the entire United Nations system. Thus, the General Assembly, as the main United Nations organ empowered to consider general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, should address the different aspects of terrorism, including legal, socio-economic and even cultural, all of which remain outside the Security Council's resolution and its powers.

The fight against terrorism will be successful if it is undertaken within, and by a strengthening of, international law and order. Thus, the Sixth Committee should, bearing in mind the existence of a strong political will and determination, finalize as soon as possible both the draft convention against nuclear terrorism and the comprehensive convention against international terrorism.

The draft convention against nuclear terrorism is almost ready. Hopefully, the remaining issue, dealing with the scope of its application, will be resolved during this session of the General Assembly. As for the draft comprehensive convention against international terrorism, it is widely recognized that what is needed is political will more than the negotiating or drafting skills of diplomats and lawyers. My delegation believes that given political will, terrorism can be defined. In this respect, my delegation agrees with the Secretary-General that there can be no acceptance of those who would seek to justify the deliberate taking of innocent human lives, regardless of cause or grievance. Where there is a will, there is always a way.

Equally, the issue of the relationship between the forthcoming conventions and existing ones, as well as future conventions on international terrorism, could be resolved. Once the two conventions are drawn up, Member States should take prompt measures for their rapid entry into force.

In the same manner, the pace of establishing the International Criminal Court (ICC) should be accelerated as a timely response to combat impunity of crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes. Adding to the list of crimes against humanity aggression, the threat or use of nuclear weapons, terrorist and environmental crimes that entail grave international consequences should in due time be looked at again, and if agreed, could be proposed to the amendment conference of the ICC at a future time, as envisaged in its Statute.

The political will of the international community, which is now clearly manifested, should be turned into the strong legal commitment of States. As the Secretary-General rightly pointed out earlier this morning, the recent terrorist acts have also demonstrated that biological and chemical terrorist acts are becoming a real and present danger that needs to be addressed accordingly.

The fight against terrorism should start at the national level, for it is not necessarily the case that terrorist plans are hatched and preparations are made at the international level. Attempts to give religious or national justification or coloration to criminal acts should be fought first and foremost at the national

level. Depriving the terrorists of ideological justification for their actions is extremely important to reducing the number of their followers and sympathizers, and thus to narrowing the social base of terrorism. It is, in a way, a form of preventive diplomacy. The role and importance of the mass media in giving objective information cannot be overemphasized here.

It is said that wars begin in the minds of men and that it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. This, I believe, applies fully to terrorism. Therefore, fostering understanding, tolerance and dialogue among different civilizations is important. Efforts at promoting such a dialogue should not be limited in time or space. They should become a way of life for which there is no alternative.

The long-standing international problems on which terrorism feeds should be resolved as soon as possible. Terrorism is also being supported through drug-trafficking, traffic in arms and explosives, money-laundering and other activities. Therefore, the international community's efforts to combat these transnational crimes should also be consistent and bring tangible results. In this regard, my delegation supports the earliest possible entry into force of the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime that was adopted last year. The competent authorities of my country are considering Mongolia's participation.

It is not sufficient to address only the symptoms and various manifestations of terrorism. As it has been mentioned, the root causes need to be addressed. The poverty, deprivation, frustration and despair that bring suffering to millions of people are fertile breeding grounds for terrorism. Many of the root causes of terrorism are to be found in or connected with abject poverty. Therefore, the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs should redouble their efforts to address the questions of reducing and eliminating poverty in line with the objectives of the Millennium Declaration and promoting good and responsible governance. This and other measures should form an important part of the international community's collective, long-term strategy to fight terrorism, to which the Prime Minister of Mongolia referred in his recent message addressed to the Secretary-General.

Perhaps the question of combating international terrorism could be taken up by the General Assembly in a special session, after the Security Council's Committee presents its first report and conclusions and concrete recommendations for further concrete positive actions are drawn up. After all, the main organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies should work together in order to be more effective.

Regional action to combat terrorism is also very important and, in some cases, even crucial. The existence of seven regional agreements and the emergence of an eighth as part of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, form a vital link between individual nations and measures at the national and international levels. The value of regional agreements is that they are drawn up as a result of painstaking negotiations among experts representing different legal orders or systems. They not only define concrete crimes but also envisage extradition or prosecution of the perpetrators and their accomplices, exchange of information, assistance in investigation, etc. In many cases, it is the regional agreements that will be most effective.

Finally, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its full support for the call for the measures to be taken to protect the potential victims of terrorism or those that could be caught in the middle in the struggle against terrorism and terrorists.

Mr. Pamir (Turkey): Since this is the first time my delegation is taking the floor during this session, I would like to express our heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as the President of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We are particularly delighted to see at the helm of our Assembly a distinguished statesman of the Republic of Korea, with which Turkey enjoys the friendliest of relations. I have no doubt that your impressive background and your expertise in the vast area of contemporary political and economic life will lead our annual work to a successful conclusion.

We are meeting here today to explore more effective ways to strengthen international cooperation against the scourge of terrorism under extraordinary circumstances. The carnage to which the United States and our civilization was subjected on 11 September was beyond any description. I would like to take this opportunity to express my nation's deepest feelings of sympathy and condolences to the people and the Government of the United States of America. The United States is a very close friend and ally of Turkey.

Yet, as far as terrorism is concerned, I have to say that there is something more to this relationship. Through the tumultuous years of our fight against terrorism, the United States always stood, and at times singularly, by Turkey. Now, in their hour of need, Turkey firmly stands by the United States.

Our own experience with terrorism has clearly shown that this fight has two fundamental dimensions. The first one is the moral pillar. If there were any arguments that terrorists might also have a defensible cause, 11 September must have put this forever to rest. There are no grey areas in the fight against terrorism, nor are there good terrorists and bad terrorists. This is the time for the international community as a whole and for States individually to condemn unequivocally all acts, methods and practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation, in all their forms and manifestations. Likewise, it is high time for us to recognize that this scourge is a human rights violation in one of its most blatant forms.

The second pillar has to do with the scope and the effectiveness of international machinery to combat this evil. This requires us to make full use of the means and mechanisms already in place and to bolster them in a fashion that will progressively establish an effective system that will strangle the terrorist livelihood. This system needs to be of an all-encompassing nature, integrating its capabilities with those instruments utilized in the fight against all types of organized crime, first and foremost being drug-trafficking, the natural ally of terrorism.

Events no longer allow any slackening of our actions. We have to move forward with a sense of clear purpose, and we have to move fast. The United Nations presents us with a global framework for cooperation. The threat is to our common civilization and the United Nations is our common house. The membership must act with a multi-faceted agenda.

Resolution 1373 (2001) of the Security Council, adopted on 28 September, is a grand step in the fight against terrorism, as it puts particular emphasis on the suppression of the financing of terrorism and the elimination of all support — direct or indirect — to those who commission terrorism, and highlights the crucial aspects of international cooperation needed in this field. We call upon all States to fully implement the measures included therein.

Our agenda should particularly include the following basic elements. Members should be encouraged to become party to conventions and protocols on combating terrorism. I am pleased to announce in this respect that Turkey has also signed, on 27 September, the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.

The Organization should elaborate a comprehensive convention on terrorism without delay. In this regard, I would like to draw attention to the invaluable work being done in various bodies within the United Nations system, in particular the Ad Hoc Committee established by General Assembly resolution 51/210. We expect that the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism, which is under consideration in that Committee, be concluded soon.

Furthermore, bilateral, regional and multilateral anti-terrorism conventions must be fully implemented. Safe haven must be denied to terrorists and those who support them in any way. The apprehension and prosecution or extradition of the perpetrators of terrorist acts must be ensured. Any claims of political motivation as grounds for refusing requests for extradition must be dismissed.

States must recognize that terrorism is contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and poses a serious threat to international peace and security. This point has also been referred to in Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), along with several earlier General Assembly resolutions. In this respect, I would like to recall the ongoing work being done for the establishment of the International Criminal Court. The Court is being set up to try the most serious crimes of international concern. However, its jurisdiction, as it now stands, does not cover terrorist crimes. In the Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court, which is now elaborating certain aspects and legal instruments of the Court, the Turkish delegation has submitted a proposal for the inclusion of these crimes in its Statute. We believe that the extension of the Court's jurisdiction over terrorist crimes will make our common struggle to eliminate terrorism more complete.

Mr. van den Berg (Netherlands): The Netherlands associates itself fully with the statement made by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the European Union.

The presence of Mayor Giuliani at this morning's plenary meeting underscores the fact that the 189 Member States of the Organization are united with the people of New York in indignation at the attack on their city, our host city. And united we grieve over all those men and women from some 80 nations who perished in this calamity. The Mayor's presence also signals our shared resolve to have the perpetrators brought to justice and to take further steps to render this world safe from such crimes against humanity.

Indeed, there can be no mistake about the resolve of the United Nations. The General Assembly and the Security Council immediately condemned the atrocities of 11 September and called for international cooperation to bring the perpetrators to justice. The Security Council has recognized these acts as a threat to international peace and security. Last Friday, the Security Council unanimously agreed on specific steps aimed at bleeding the terrorists of their resources and facilities. Those steps are to be implemented by Member States forthwith. The Netherlands stands ready to answer the call made by the Security Council in resolution 1373 (2001) to work together urgently to prevent and to suppress terrorism.

Following the Council's decision, the General Assembly will now have to play its active part in addressing the issue of terrorism. The Netherlands is committed to completing without further delay the work on a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. Such a convention would link the 12 existing conventions on terrorism together in a common framework. It is very important that the General Assembly keep track of the progress in the negotiations for the comprehensive convention against terrorism. We therefore support proposals that the Ad Hoc Committee report on the progress in the negotiations by mid-November.

One outstanding question in this context is the definition of terrorism. Much has been said on that score, but the events at ground zero have made it painfully clear that terrorism in its true manifestation defines itself. There is no cause or grievance that can justify these kinds of acts. There is no distinction between good and bad terrorists. There are just terrorists.

For the United Nations to be effective, its organs need to see to it that their actions are complementary and coherent. Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) fits in with the legal instruments already in place to fight terrorism. This makes it of paramount importance that Member States speed up the signature and ratification of the 12 international conventions against terrorism drafted and adopted under auspices of the United Nations. We support the suggestion of the Secretary-General that Member States that have yet not done so sign those conventions as priority business during the general debate. The Netherlands has signed all 12 international conventions and will soon complete the remaining ratifications of the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.

Signing and ratifying a convention is one thing; implementing it is another. The logic of having a monitoring mechanism to see to the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) certainly applies in the case of the implementation of the 12 conventions against international terrorism. For all practical intents and purposes, one can envision a single protocol on the monitoring of these conventions or a mechanism set up by a General Assembly resolution.

The Security Council noted with concern the close connection between international terrorism and transnational crime. We see merit in examining the possibilities for closer cooperation between the Office of Legal Affairs, in New York, and the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, in Vienna. It would be logical to combine the resources for investigation and scientific analysis in Vienna with the legal knowledge present here in New York. The synergy acquired might be of help to the monitoring mechanism established by resolution 1373 (2001).

Mr. Rosenthal (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The human suffering and the damage inflicted by the attacks of 11 September were enormous and brought fear of the future to many. The prospect of terrorists obtaining weapons of mass destruction, however, is even more terrifying, and yet not imaginary. We must therefore multiply our efforts in the field of the non-proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. The Netherlands is therefore committed to the early conclusion of a convention for the suppression of nuclear terrorist acts. We must ensure that the key treaties relating to weapons of mass destruction are implemented to the full. Control,

surveillance and inspection mechanisms such as, for instance, those established in the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, are indispensable elements to ensure non-proliferation.

We also view the rapid establishment of the International Criminal Court as a fundamental way of enhancing respect for international law and human rights. The Court will be a powerful instrument in the fight to bring to justice those who have committed or instigated crimes against humanity. It will strengthen the primacy of law and thus contribute to global peace and security.

Poverty, disease and conflict cannot be an alibi for not addressing terrorism directly. But terrorism as such is not an isolated phenomenon. The work of the United Nations in eradicating poverty, furthering education, improving health conditions and resolving conflict is now more important than ever.

We must continue to take care of the victims of terrorism, whether they are direct targets or other populations that will be affected by our common efforts. The Secretary-General rightly launched an appeal for much more generous humanitarian assistance to the people of Afghanistan. Today our Minister for Development Cooperation has announced that the Netherlands is prepared to offer $29 million in humanitarian aid to Afghanistan and its neighbours. That amount will be given in addition to the Netherlands' annual contribution of $8 million to the United Nations aid programme for the victims of drought in Afghanistan.

This is the Year of Dialogue among Civilizations. Let us live up to its aims and use the momentum brought about by the tragedy of 11 September to fight the ignorance, prejudice and bigotry that breed terrorism.

Mr. Alemán (Ecuador) (*spoke in Spanish*): In the face of the heinous attack of 11 September, which not only affected the United States of America but also deeply wounded the conscience of humanity, outrage and the repudiation of terror were universal and unanimous. The Constitutional President of Ecuador, Mr. Gustavo Noboa Bejarano, said to President George W. Bush on that fateful day that

> "At this time of national tragedy for the United States of America, I wish to convey to the people and the Government of the United States, and in particular to the families of the victims, the profound grief of the people and the Government of Ecuador, and their firm condemnation of the insane acts of terrorism that so gravely harmed the peace and security of their nation.
>
> "Ecuador is firmly convinced that international terrorism must be combated by all the means made available to peace-loving peoples under international law."

Ecuador, which lost dozens of citizens in the cruel and inhuman attack on the World Trade Center, reaffirms its rejection and firmly and unequivocally condemns terrorism in all forms and manifestations, irrespective of motivation, because we view terrorism as a grave and unjustifiable crime that takes innocent lives and that strikes at universal values such as freedom, the rule of law, justice and peaceful coexistence, which are an integral part of the international order and of every society, culture and religion.

Through the United Nations, the international community must categorically confront terrorism with collective action by its Members in accordance with international law, the Charter of the United Nations and human rights instruments, which defend life as one of the fundamental rights of all human beings. The means to confront the barbarity of terror must be consistent with the principles we are obliged to preserve and defend. We must send a clear message to terrorist organizations that we will never make concessions in the face of intimidation and that, on the basis of solid international agreement, we will spare no effort to dismantle their sinister networks, which thirst for blood, death and destruction, and to bring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these grave crimes to justice, along with those who support and protect them.

Concerted action by States must also aim at strengthening the international legal framework in this sphere. With the utmost determination, Ecuador will continue to cooperate with a view to the speedy adoption of the comprehensive convention on international terrorism now under negotiation in the Ad Hoc Committee established by the General Assembly in its resolution 51/210 and in the Sixth Committee's working group.

Terrorism will be eradicated only through international cooperation, because the problem is not

geographically limited to any one country or group of countries. While terrorism is not a new phenomenon in human history, it has today grown to unimaginable dimensions. Cooperation will be strengthened by universal participation in the anti-terrorist conventions that have been adopted in the United Nations framework since the early 1970s. It is therefore urgent for States to give priority consideration to becoming parties to those conventions and to do what is necessary to have them ratified and implemented.

The most recent of those United Nations instruments, the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, to whose negotiation Ecuador made a constructive contribution, sets out a range of elements and mechanisms that make it particularly relevant in the fight against terrorism. Its implementation will make it possible to cut off the sources of financing that fuel terrorist organizations and networks.

Alongside global action, joint regional action by States is also of the greatest importance. Here, Ecuador will promote cooperation in the American hemisphere towards the effective functioning of regional mechanisms to prevent and suppress this scourge, such as the Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism, which among other functions is intended to promote exchange of information and to identify the sources of the financing of terrorism. Ecuador will also cooperate towards the speedy adoption of an inter-American convention against terrorism, formulation of which was recently decided upon at the twenty-third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States.

It is not enough to dismantle terrorist networks and eliminate their operational and planning cells. It is also vital to prevent them from being reformulated and reorganized. That can be achieved, inter alia, by identifying and intercepting their sources of financing and logistics, by eliminating their ability to mobilize and by eradicating their training centres. Those who harbour and protect terrorists must be held accountable, so that there will be no possible refuge anywhere in the world for those who plan the death of innocent persons. Such actions must go hand in hand with new policy measures for the present and for the future, laying the economic, social and institutional foundations to stop the spread of terrorist networks.

Let us combat terrorism firmly and vigorously, but let us not fail to address other acute problems that can be a source of possible violence and whose persistence can make violence become extreme. Such problems all demand positive, unrelenting action by the international community. In that connection, my delegation endorses the wise words of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, who has written that

> "Terrorism threatens every society. As the world takes action against it, we have all been reminded of the need to address the conditions that permit the growth of such hatred and depravity. We must confront violence, bigotry and hatred even more resolutely. The United Nations work must continue as we address the ills of conflict, ignorance, poverty and disease. Doing so will not remove every source of hatred or prevent every act of violence. There are those who will hate and who will kill even if every injustice is ended. But if the world can show that it will carry on, that it will persevere in creating a stronger, most just, more benevolent and more genuine international community across all lines of religion and race, then terrorism will have failed." (*The New York Times, 21 September 2001*)

Mr. Navarrete (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico deems it fortunate that a Latin American Vice-President of the Assembly is presiding over this part of the plenary meeting during which I am making my statement.

On 27 September, the President of Mexico, Vicente Fox, speaking once again about the horrendous terrorist attacks of 11 September, warned that

> "international peace has been threatened by terrorism and by Governments that provide safe haven for terrorists in their territory. In the face of this situation, the international community must adopt a very clear stance that leaves no doubt or uncertainty whatsoever. What happened a few weeks ago in the United States is a wake-up call to all States to fight for peace, and that is why Mexico unreservedly supports the United States and democratic and free countries in the fight against terrorism."

Those acts — whose grave consequences, as has been said earlier, have affected more than 80 nations — have deeply affected the people of Mexico. Mexico reiterates once again its condolences to, and solidarity

with, the people and the Government of the United States and of the other affected nations. My country, too, has been deeply wounded, because the victims include a number of Mexican nationals. That number has yet to be determined, but, unfortunately, it is believed to be large.

Since 11 September, Mexico has been strongly and unequivocally condemning those acts. It has strengthened its cooperation with the United States and with the other Members of the United Nations to ensure that the perpetrators are brought to justice.

None of us can fail to recognize the gravity of the situation. The acts of international terrorism that took place represent an attack against humanity. They undermined the very foundations of civilized coexistence among nations, and they constitute a clear threat to international peace and security. They require States to take firm and concerted action in defence of our fundamental values. There can be no justification whatsoever for terrorism.

Mexico wishes to reaffirm its total readiness, on the one hand, to undertake and strengthen its own national measures to prevent and thwart the commission of terrorist acts in its territory, and, on the other, to contribute — with the urgency and resolve that the situation demands — to the efforts of international cooperation aimed at the prevention and eradication of terrorism in all of its forms, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Over the past few weeks, Mexico has adopted new measures to fight terrorism in the areas of national security and international cooperation. These include closer monitoring of financial flows; exchange of information on unusual capital movements; more effective measures to combat money-laundering; additional measures in the area of customs to prevent trans-border movements of arms, particularly small arms and light weapons, explosives and other dangerous materials; stricter monitoring and control of migration at land borders, seaports and air terminals; and more comprehensive and more frequent exchanges of intelligence and operational information among national security agencies.

The resolution adopted unanimously last Friday by the Security Council commits each and every member of the international community to combat, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.

As I said earlier, Mexico is already taking the actions called for in this resolution, and it will continue to do so. Its actions will always be consistent with the legal regime in force in Mexico, with its multilateral commitments at the international and hemispheric levels, and with the solidarity that guides the legitimate actions of the international community as it confronts the threat of international terrorism.

As the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council state, these actions are aimed at bringing to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of international terrorism and those responsible for supporting or harbouring them.

Indeed, as the Secretary-General has said, no people, region or religion should be targeted because of the unspeakable acts of individuals. At the same time, the protection of civilians is a primary concern in any possible future action on the ground.

Mexico is party to 10 of the 12 international instruments, universal in their scope, that aim to fight terrorism. Mexico is currently completing the formalities required under its domestic legislation to become party to the remaining two instruments. We urge all States that have not yet done so effectively to implement the relevant international instruments.

In the face of the heinous acts of 11 September, Mexico promoted the special session of the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, held a week ago in Washington, D.C., and the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs held on 21 September. It supported the adoption of a resolution to strengthen hemispheric cooperation to prevent, fight and eliminate terrorism and reiterated its full readiness to host the special conference on security proposed at the Third Summit of the Americas to consider ways of confronting new threats to regional and global security, including terrorism.

Mexico is convinced that terrorism can be eliminated only through a common approach that is rigorously implemented by States in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, including humanitarian law and respect for human rights. The international community must commit itself to preventing and eliminating terrorism by adopting immediate measures

to strengthen the existing legal framework and by drafting new instruments effectively to combat the associated phenomena, such as the drug trade, arms-trafficking, possession of and trafficking in small arms and light weapons, and transnational organized crime.

Since 11 September, the need to strengthen international cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism has become even more obvious. Based on the principles governing international cooperation in this area, the General Assembly could adopt additional measures for immediate implementation to strengthen global action and the capacity of States to deal with new threats. The Ad Hoc Committee established pursuant to General Assembly resolution 51/210 must conclude without delay the draft international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism and continue to work towards the elaboration of a comprehensive convention on terrorism.

As regards other forums, we shall have to consider — perhaps sooner than we had planned — the possible inclusion of terrorism among the crimes that fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, in accordance with the provisions of the Rome Statute. As was said earlier by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, we must strengthen the relevant structures of the United Nations Secretariat in order to enhance our Organization's anti-terrorist capacities.

We are at a decisive crossroads. Mexico is ready to participate in and to support the adoption of practical, realistic and long-term measures that would enable us to develop and strengthen a new security framework for dealing with the threats to our nations in the new century. Mexico would also hope that this almost unprecedented debate of the General Assembly will yield concrete results reflecting the universal consensus against international terrorism and its unspeakable acts and consequences.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): In a speech delivered just two days ago before 100,000 countrymen, President Fidel Castro stated:

> "The unanimous shock suffered by all peoples of the world on 11 September in the face of the insane terrorist attacks against the American people has created exceptional conditions for the eradication of terrorism without the need to unleash a useless and perhaps endless war.
>
> "Terror has always been an instrument of the worst enemies of mankind, bent on suppressing and crushing the peoples' struggle for freedom. It can never be the instrument of a truly noble and just cause."

He went on to add:

> "Many seem not to have realized yet that, on 20 September, before the United States Congress, the end of independence was decreed for every other State without exception, as well as the end of the role of the United Nations.
>
> "Cuba was the first country to speak of the need for an international struggle against terrorism, just a few hours after the tragedy inflicted on the American people on 11 September. We also said that none of the present problems of the world can be solved by force. [...] The international community should build a world conscience against terrorism. [...] Only the intelligent policy of seeking strength through consensus and international public opinion can decidedly uproot this problem. [...] This unimaginable event should serve to launch an international struggle against terrorism. [...] The world cannot be saved unless the path of international peace and cooperation is pursued.
>
> "I harbour no doubt that the countries of the third world — I dare say almost every one without exception, regardless of their political and religious differences — would be willing to join the rest of the world in this struggle against terrorism as an alternative to war.
>
> "For these peoples, preserving peace with dignity, with independence and without war, is the cornerstone of the struggle that we should wage together for a truly just world of free peoples."

Instead of war, it is necessary to organize international cooperation to launch effective global action in accordance with international law, the United Nations Charter and the relevant international conventions, based on the extraordinary power of consensus and on the sovereign and united will of all States.

Cuba has stated:

> "It would suffice to restore to the United Nations the prerogatives of which it has been deprived and to let the General Assembly, its most universal and representative body, be the centre of that fight for peace in order to eradicate terrorism with the total and unanimous support of world opinion. The curtailed powers of the Security Council, limited by the arbitrary right of veto of its permanent members — most of them members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) — do not matter. It is indispensable to restore to the United Nations its role in the attainment of peace."

The United Nations is precisely the universal coalition we need to fight terrorism. No amorphous and unpredictable coalition — NATO or any other military organization — no group of States, however powerful they may be, can replace the United Nations in a global and legitimate action against terrorism. The United Nations should not relinquish its functions or prerogatives in the face of impositions by any country, nor should it complacently serve hegemonic interests.

It is for the United Nations alone to address, in an in-depth, calm, resolute and forceful way, the serious challenges of a globalized world, including terrorism, which is now a matter of urgency.

The United Nations can rely on the universal participation of States; it has historical and moral authority; its principles and rules are accepted by all; it is authorized to establish and codify standards; it can take action in all areas; and its many and various bodies have great potential. We support the Secretary-General's statement that this Organization is the natural forum in which to build such a universal coalition and that it alone can give global legitimacy to the long-term struggle against terrorism.

The United Nations even has the prerogative to use force if necessary to defend the principle of collective security. However, this exceptional prerogative must be used with extreme prudence and a sense of responsibility.

The United Nations has made great efforts to fight terrorism, as the existing conventions and other recently adopted instruments, as well as the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and other bodies, show. In order to move forward, we must address all forms and manifestations of terrorism, without exception, including State terrorism, in all parts of the world, in a way that is completely honest and avoids hegemonic interests and national ambitions.

The overwhelming political will of States to fully implement international instruments must prevail, without double standards or political selectivity and without special treatment for those who live in affluent societies. Furthermore, neither States nor their armed forces — especially the most powerful ones — should act in disregard of international law.

We share the calls for prudence and moderation that have come from all regions. The terrorist attacks of 11 September should not be responded to with acts of war and vengeance that might result in a cycle of violence and barbaric acts as yet unimagined. The solution cannot be to pass legislation or issue decrees that authorize extrajudicial executions or allow States to kill foreign citizens and act covertly in other countries in disrespect of laws and borders or use force within other States. That would divert the world from its purpose of eliminating terrorism, and would mean the end of collective security mechanisms. It would mean the rule of force and the beginning of the end of the oft-proclaimed rule of law.

Terrorist acts are usually carried out by extremist groups or even individuals. Faced with such an event, however serious it might be, a powerful State must not invoke the right to self-defence in order unilaterally to unleash a war that might have unpredictable effects on a global scale and result in the death of an incalculable number of innocent people. Instead, the right of all to the common defence of all must be exercised. In the long term, the countries of the South would be the victims of actions of force if today we accepted war on the pretext of the struggle against terrorism.

Cuba supports the many ongoing initiatives and those under discussion that might contribute to United Nations actions, among them those submitted by the Non-Aligned Movement. These include the call for a high-level conference on international terrorism, the creation of a centre for international cooperation and the negotiation of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. We are also willing to give constructive consideration to other initiatives that might contribute to the struggle against terrorism and that have the legitimacy invoked by the Secretary-General.

Although the Security Council has in the past made specific efforts and adopted several resolutions with regard to terrorism, in general it has been an area in which prudence has prevailed. In the few cases in which the Council has dealt with specific acts of terrorism, such action has been taken in the direct interests of some of its permanent members.

However, Cuba asked the Security Council to take action in the case of the 1976 in-flight bombing of Cubana de Aviacion flight CU-455, which resulted in the death of 73 people on board. But a draft resolution submitted by Cuba, contained in document S/23990, was not even considered. I reviewed that draft resolution once again, comparing it to the resolution adopted by the Security Council on Friday night and discovered that, although ours was much more moderate, it did propose some of the same concepts and measures.

In the preambular part, the Cuban draft considered the suppression of acts of international terrorism to be essential for the maintenance of international peace and security; emphasized the need to deal effectively with terrorism; and reaffirmed that every State had a duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting, participating in or consenting to terrorist acts within its territory. Our text took note of the fact that one permanent member of the Security Council had stated that it had evidence in its possession relating to the terrorist act. It also took into account the fact that one of the masterminds of that act, Orlando Bosch, resided in the territory of that same State — where, I might add, he still lives; and that, after committing the appalling crime, the other mastermind, Luis Posada Carriles, was employed in two capacities by the Government of that State. The Cuban draft resolution also urged the Council to involve itself in the struggle against international terrorism, invoking Chapter VII of the Charter.

The draft resolution did not request the use of force or sanctions, but simply asked the Council to condemn the in-flight bombing of the passenger aircraft, to affirm the obligation to investigate the crime and to punish the guilty parties. It asked the State concerned to provide all the information and evidence in its possession relating to the past and current residence of the terrorists who were in its territory and to adopt effective measures to prevent its territory from being used to prepare, organize or carry out terrorist acts against Cuba. It also asked the Council to remain seized of the matter.

After Cuba had spoken in the Security Council meeting at which that matter was discussed, the representative of the permanent member that was implicated took the floor for five minutes only, and stated:

> "I frankly cannot help but wonder why we are here ... By meeting today ... we lose our most valuable commodity: time." (*S/PV.3080, p. 36*)

The meeting ended shortly thereafter.

By contrast, however, the Security Council recently adopted — after speedy negotiations that were not very transparent — a resolution that orders States to work on urgent legislative modifications, demands immediate reports and creates a sort of anti-terrorist general staff.

The Council has decided to fight terrorism in many different areas, ranging from the economic and financial fields to illicit drug-trafficking, border controls, money-laundering, the forgery of documents and trafficking in explosive materials and nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons. It also deals with issues relating to transnational organized crime, weapons of mass destruction, communication technologies and the exchange of intelligence information regarding individuals and entities that practise terrorism.

In order to implement this resolution, it must first be defined what persons and acts are to be considered terrorists and terrorism. One can imagine where those interpretations are going to come from.

The Security Council has been pushed to give its legal support to the hegemonic and arbitrary decisions of the dominant Power. Those decisions violate the Charter and international law and encroach upon the sovereignty of all States. In this, the Council is once again usurping the functions of the General Assembly, which is the only organ whose universal membership and democratic format could legitimize such far-reaching decisions. The Council uses the unusual method of imposing on all States some of the provisions found in the conventions against terrorism, to which individual States have the right to decide whether or not they wish to be signatories.

The Security Council, a hostage of the veto power, could only act as a selective, capricious, arbitrary and ineffective dictatorship, instead of demonstrating the moral leadership required for a comprehensive campaign against terrorism in a globalized world.

Terrorism cannot be eliminated if some terrorist acts are condemned while others are ignored or excused. It is an ethical imperative to put an end to the use of the veto power for preventing international initiatives to protect the Palestinian people from the countless acts of State terrorism they are suffering.

It is Cuba's opinion that any use of force against terrorism will require the explicit and prior authorization of the Security Council, as established in the Charter. Cuba also believes that neither of the two resolutions adopted by the Council in the wake of the attacks of 11 September could be invoked to launch unilateral military actions or other acts of force.

Despite certain methods and arbitrary decisions of the Security Council, our country, as always, will cooperate in good faith with the Council, in accordance with the Charter, and will enforce the laws its own sovereign people have legislated for themselves, in accordance with international law. Cuba's laws vigorously oppose all acts of terrorism, whoever their perpetrator, as well as other serious international crimes being committed in the world.

We can make these declarations with the moral strength deriving from the fact that our finances are transparent; that our banks neither hold nor launder illegitimately gained funds; that our institutions do not sell information or technology illegally, or tolerate trafficking in arms or in dangerous substances; and that our borders do not harbour international crime.

The specific measures put forth in the resolution adopted by the Security Council, with which Cuba agrees, must be applied first to the big banks, which — as everyone knows — is where money is laundered.

I must categorically state that Cuba will not participate in any military action.

I bring with me here today the memory of the 3,478 Cubans who died as a result of aggressions and terrorist acts, and the call for justice of the 2,099 Cubans who were disabled as a result of those acts.

I have, among other memories, the memory of Félix García, a diplomat of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations who was murdered here in New York, precisely on 11 September 1980. His murderer was arrested last November in Panama, together with Luis Posada Carriles, in the midst of an Ibero-American Summit, when, with the purpose of assassinating President Fidel Castro, they were planning to blow up a university auditorium where thousands of students were gathered. Posada Carriles and his group have been neither extradited nor sanctioned. There are reasons to fear that they will escape before they are sentenced, or that they will go completely unpunished.

In the 1990s alone, a total of 68 terrorist acts were perpetrated against Cuba, 33 of them in the last five years.

Our country speaks with all the moral authority of never having carried out a terrorist act, not even the attempt to physically eliminate in an act of legitimate self-defence, the direct perpetrators or masterminds of the abominable crimes against our people that were financed and carried out by the Cuban American National Foundation and other groups of the Miami terrorist mafia. However, from beyond our borders, they have in recent times organized bombings, attempted assassinations of Cuban leaders and attacks against economic targets vital to our economy, all with complete impunity.

Only the consideration and respect our people have for the victims of the attack of 11 September and the seriousness of the current situation, which unites us in the search for constructive solutions, encourage me to contribute to the spirit of this debate by remaining silent on the subject of the origins of the terrorism against Cuba and by not explicitly mentioning its causes, its accomplices, those truly responsible, the financial movements, the venal courts that pardon them, and the territories serving as bases for terrorist organizations that strike against Cuba.

I share the hope that the tragedy of 11 September leads us to reflection and to a change of policies, as the American public wishes — policies that encourage and, in essence, harbour the terrorism against my people. Terrorism against Cuba must stop.

I must declare that, in the face of impunity, Cuba is fully within its rights to defend itself against terrorism. The five young Cubans who were unjustly jailed and suffer degrading treatment in Florida do not

regret having heroically saved the lives of Cuban and American citizens.

As President Fidel Castro stated,

> "Cuba, with the moral authority it possesses as the country having suffered the most terrorist attacks over the longest period of time, and whose people does not tremble in the face of anything — nor is there a threat or power in the world capable of intimidating it — proclaims that it is against terrorism and against war. Although the chances are now remote, Cuba reiterates the need to avoid a war of unforeseeable consequences, whose potential authors have confessed they have no idea how events will unfold. Cuba reiterates its readiness to cooperate with all other countries in the total eradication of terrorism.
>
> "Whatever happens, we will never permit our territory to be used for terrorist actions against the American people. And we will do everything within our grasp to prevent actions of this kind against them. Today, we express our solidarity, along with our appeal for calm and peace."

Finally, the President of our country, expressing the unanimous feeling of our people, stated,

> "Our independence, our principles and our social victories — we will defend them with honour to the last drop of blood if we are attacked."

Mr. Listre (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I am very pleased indeed to be speaking at a meeting presided over by the Permanent Representative of Guatemala, Vice-President of the Assembly, who has shown great ability in the work he has done in this Organization.

I am speaking today at a time when the international community is faced with the horror of the brutal terrorist attacks of 11 September. The Argentine Republic condemns the attacks, which pose a serious threat to international peace and security. I reiterate here the expressions of deep sorrow and solidarity that my Government has conveyed to the people and the Government of the United States, including in particular the victims and their families. I extend our sympathies to all of those countries that have suffered casualties as a result of this indiscriminate violence. We share their pain, because there were also Argentines among the victims.

Twice in the last decade my country was a target of international terrorism, involving over 100 fatalities, so my country understands like few others the need to adopt measures to prevent and punish acts of terrorism. We call upon States to comply with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

In this regard, the Argentine Republic associates itself fully with all aspects of Security Council resolutions 1368 (2001) and 1373 (2001) and General Assembly resolution 56/1, which express the commitment of the international community to use all elements available to it to eliminate the threat to peace and security that is represented by terrorism.

The United Nations, because of its universality and its global nature, is called upon to play a critical role in the fight against international terrorism. It has a duty to promote measures that will allow States, individually or collectively, to prevent international terrorism in all its forms and to fight against it. For too many years the United Nations was conditioned by the ideological confrontation of the cold war, and afterwards by erroneous arguments that forestalled the unequivocal acknowledgement of the criminal nature of terrorism. That created roadblocks to the design of drastic measures against terrorism. However, the tenor of the initiatives taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly in recent years is an encouraging sign and allows us to foresee a more effective response this time.

Under the aegis of the United Nations, resolutions and agreements have been adopted that reflect the increasing resolve of the international community to define every terrorist act as a criminal act, without exception. For the Argentine Republic, there is absolutely no doubt but that terrorist practices are, in each and every case, unjustifiable criminal acts, whatever the aim of the authors. Deliberate and indiscriminate attacks against civilian populations, considered a crime under when international law committed in times of war, can only be considered even more serious crimes in times of peace.

At a time when the emotions relating to the tragic events of 11 September are still fresh, we think it important to stress that terrorists are the common enemies of all societies. They do not come from any

particular religion, culture or nationality. As the Secretary-General has said, no people, no religion should be targeted because of the aberrant acts of a few individuals.

The resolutions and agreements adopted so far have developed a series of specific measures and norms to improve judicial and police cooperation; they have criminalized many acts of terrorism and have established the principle that all States must prosecute and punish the perpetrators. It is especially important to note that in the latest agreements developed by this Organization the principle that these crimes cannot in any way be considered political offences has been categorically established. The enshrinement of this principle supports the fulfilment of duty to investigate the facts and punish the perpetrators.

The Argentine Republic is party to most of the international treaties in force, and is currently in the process of ratifying the rest, including the 1997 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. We believe that the conclusion of the agreements currently being drafted within the United Nations must be given new impetus, and we call upon all countries that have not yet done so to ratify the existing international conventions.

Argentina is aware that the drafting of treaties is not enough in itself; rather, this must be accompanied by effective implementation at the national level, demonstrating the real will and commitment of States to comply with them. Our country reaffirms its commitment to keep on taking all the legislative, police, intelligence, financial and other kinds of measures needed to contribute to our common fight. We believe that the coordination of activities to control and monitor the transfer of material, equipment and sensitive and dual-use technologies, together with the exchange of information among pertinent State agencies, should be further developed.

In our American region, as a response to the acts committed on 11 September, Argentina, together with the other American States, turned to the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, convened in the framework of the Organization of American States (OAS), as well as to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. In this way, we applied the regional system of self-defence and collective security against those acts. At the same time, we gave momentum to the full operation of the Inter-American Committee on Terrorism, to the development of an inter-American convention against terrorism to supplement those existing at the universal level, and to the convening of a special conference on hemispheric security.

It is worth recalling that the OAS did pioneering work in adopting the Inter-American Convention against the Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives and Other Related Materials in 1997. My country is currently in the process of ratifying that Convention.

At the subregional level, Argentina, together with the other countries of the Southern Common Market, is promoting a series of measures aimed at improving coordination, cooperation and technical and operational assistance among the various bodies that are charged with combating terrorism in the field.

These and other initiatives adopted individually and collectively at the universal and regional levels are all very important. It is obvious, however, that much is yet to be done in order to effectively prevent the commission and financing of terrorist acts and to ensure that the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of those acts will be prosecuted.

It is the responsibility of the General Assembly, the most representative organ of the United Nations, to respond fittingly to the circumstances and to act effectively and concretely. We believe that the task is urgent and has to be accomplished during the first part of this fifty-sixth session of the Assembly. This is why we believe that before the end of this year the convention on nuclear terrorism must be completed and significant progress made on one of a general character that covers all aspects of this phenomenon.

Mr. Valdes (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): First I wish to say how pleased I am that a distinguished representative from our region is presiding. Since this is the first time I have taken the floor at the fifty-sixth session, I wish to begin by requesting you, Sir, to convey to the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Han Seung-soo, our congratulations on his election to preside over our work. We are confident that his vast experience and leadership will enable us to make rapid progress on our agenda. He may rely on the full cooperation of the Permanent Mission of Chile in this work.

I also wish to extend our special support to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, in his new term of office. In the new international environment created that fateful day of Tuesday, 11 September, his words of truth and moral authority and his tireless desire to promote unity to achieve peace offer our Organization a genuine possibility to make a difference on the side of justice and reason in such difficult times. The debate that we are embarking upon today on the threat of terrorism and ways to confront it should be the first step in that direction.

On behalf of the States members of the Rio Group, I wish to stress the importance we attach to this debate on terrorism and to the significance of the role of the United Nations in adopting measures to combat it. In the view of the member countries of our Group, it is therefore imperative that this critically important debate should conclude with the adoption by the General Assembly of concrete decisions that complement those recently adopted by the Security Council.

I will now express the position of my country's delegation on these issues. As was repeatedly said this morning, it is not possible to begin a debate on terrorism without immediately recalling the horrific images that have cast such a pall over New York, the United States and the entire world. Indeed, it is impossible to imagine that we will ever be able to speak about this subject again without recalling those images. The date 11 September is one of those dates in history in which processes such as the globalization of evil, which until then had only had an intellectual dimension or was the subject of discussion only among an enlightened elite, suddenly took on real meaning for millions of people around the world.

Whether this particular moment in history will usher in a period of greater uncertainty or whether it will commit mankind to a task of rehabilitation and justice depends principally on the capacity for leadership shown by Governments and the international community. That is why from the outset we have believed that condemning the horror is an essential ethical act, regardless of any analysis or review of the causes leading to the planning of the horrendous attack on the people of the United States.

Absolutely nothing can justify those acts. Addressing the thousands of Chileans who participated in the act of solidarity held a few days ago in our capital city for the victims of the tragedy, the President of Chile, Ricardo Lagos, said:

> "This is a crime against all humanity and Chile's position is clear: We are not neutral. We share the anger of the innocents, of those who fell and died."

So we understand that the criminal attack was not directed only against the United States. The pain, devastation and sudden uncertainty do not affect only that nation. We are all affected; we have all been attacked.

What we face today is an attack against the human values shared by Christians, Muslims, Jews and agnostics, women and men, children and young and old people everywhere in the world. That is why a tragic symbol of this plurality is the grief felt not only by families in the United States, but by others in more than 80 nations, including several in our country.

Today we must particularly stress that this is also an attack against the framework of a civilized plurality, which is what the United Nations represents. Those of us who subscribe to the Charter have adopted a core of values of coexistence that permits the full realization of plurality. It establishes a civilizing framework for a global city that, by defining the core values of humanity, brings the realization of those values a step closer through the mutual recognition of the richness of our agreements and our differences, understanding and respect for the choice of values we represent.

Terrorism, on the other hand, stands outside the pale of any human values. It is a primitive and totalitarian ideology of politics, a commitment to murder and violence transformed into a method of war against innocent people. That is why we have no alternative but to confront it.

In the face of the recent action, which is tantamount to an act of war, organized on a large scale, with a vast intelligence network and large technical and financial resources, aimed at destroying life, liberty and the institutions of an important member of the international community, we must react by forming a coalition to defend the ethical, political and legal values that are the foundations of peaceful coexistence and the security of mankind. As we indicated in the resolution the Assembly adopted the day after the attack, this international cooperation must be firmly aimed at taking concerted action against terrorists, their

financial backers, their protectors and those who train them or give them any other form of assistance.

However, at this session we must go beyond the mere expression of our condemnation, our solidarity with the victims and our resolve to participate in the global struggle against terrorism. We must reiterate today our conviction about the role of the United Nations as the key forum for discussing, analysing, elaborating and legitimizing new international mechanisms to deal with this scourge.

The defeat of terrorism will ultimately be achieved through a concerted multilateral medium- and long-term response able to expedite the conclusion of legal and political agreements designed to break up the global network, isolate its constituent parts and strangle its sources, wherever that may be.

The United Nations today confronts one of its greatest responsibilities and challenges ever faced since its establishment: finding an effective response to prevent and eradicate this new form of conflict. We are convinced that, as the Secretary-General has stated, our Organization has the capacity to do that.

In this connection, we place great value on the resolutions adopted by our Organization in the last two weeks. Correctly interpreting the meaning the Charter gives to acts of aggression and the right to individual and collective self-defence, the Security Council declared in resolution 1368 (2001) its readiness to take all necessary steps to respond to the terrorist attacks of 11 September. In our view, that resolution, together with Article 51 of the Charter, provides the necessary legitimacy and the support of international law to actions directed at punishing those responsible for this act of terrorism.

The rapid and unanimous reaction of the organized international community, expressed in resolution 56/1 adopted by the Assembly on 12 September, which urgently calls for international cooperation to prevent and eradicate these acts and to punish those responsible and their accomplices, is the basis for further progress in political agreements aimed at forming the necessary coalition against terrorism. We now need to work towards the adoption of other measures that are broader in scope and were described in the most recent and ambitious resolution of the Security Council adopted last Friday, 28 September, which imposes obligations on each of us.

Chile is already committed to adopting all measures necessary to prevent and suppress the financing of acts of terrorism, the strict application of the law with respect to punishing the commission of and collaboration with terrorist acts, and international cooperation in the exchange of information about this scourge. We join appeals made for urgent ratification by Member States of conventions against terrorism, especially the most recent one on the financing of terrorism. The entry into force of those conventions will help to make fully operational the decisions recently taken by the Security Council. We also think that it is essential to expedite work to adopt a comprehensive convention on international terrorism, which is currently being negotiated in the General Assembly. We reiterate our appreciation to the delegation of India for its initiative and the draft text that it has submitted for our consideration. We would also appeal for a solution to existing problems with regard to the draft convention on acts of nuclear terrorism.

In the present circumstances, we must take a fresh look at the assumptions underlying our view of security in a globalized world. Breaking with an approach that has too often viewed the impact of globalization on people in the medium and long term, the brutal acts of 11 September have, on the contrary, shown that it has an immediate and threatening impact. We must not forget today that globalization brings societies, economies and cultures closer together, but it also brings problems closer to us all.

The relationship between the illegitimacy of governments and injustice; between injustice and poverty; between poverty and crime; the relationship between arms-trafficking and childhood; between pandemics and uncontrolled urban sprawl; between climatic phenomena and the marginalization of regions and countries; between that and migration and the creation of serious humanitarian problems — all of these interrelationships make the globalized world smaller and smaller. It is changing at an ever more dizzying pace.

There can be no solution if we do not recognize that terrorism uses little cracks in our society to take shelter in them and, from there, to kill. Our ideas of global security — expressed mainly in disarmament agreements, which are no doubt indispensable — should also focus on what we have termed human security.

The need to give impetus to the global coalition against terrorism means that we must resolutely face up to certain painful situations that are still pending in the international arena. My Government welcomes the recent efforts by the United States, the European Union and others to promote peace talks in the Middle East. The dialogue is more necessary now than ever before.

Insecurity in the region is a great threat to world peace. We support action being taken by United Nations agencies to meet the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. We welcome the assistance that the United States and United Kingdom are providing there. The people of the country must not continue to suffer from the oppression and misery to which they are subjected by the Taliban regime.

Let me end by saying that we fully share the view, so eloquently expressed by President George Bush, that terrorism hates our freedoms and our rights. That is why our fight must be waged with full respect for those freedoms and rights. Therein lies the ethical difference between us and our aggressors. It is only if we respect those freedoms and rights that we can defeat them.

We join fully in repudiating any attempt to make this fight into a clash between civilizations and creeds. The United Nations must strengthen dialogue between civilizations, provide a meeting place and promote understanding between cultures and thereby promote peace, tolerance and solidarity among nations.

Our desire to help in preventing and eliminating terrorist acts is ultimately based on an ethical foundation. In her analysis of the worst of totalitarianisms of the twentieth century, the great American philosopher Hannah Arendt said the root of evil lies in treating human life as dispensable, and that is what terrorism is doing today. We hope that, in our efforts to eradicate it, we will always hold high the values of human life and dignity.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): My delegation fully aligns itself with the remarks made this morning by the Permanent Representative of Belgium on behalf of the member States of the European Union and the associated Central and Eastern European countries.

I would like, however, to briefly recall the French position on some essential points. On 11 September all the people of France experienced, live, the horror of the monstrous attacks on New York and Washington. That day, all of them felt American, owing to an instinctive solidarity with a people that are friends and allies, with whom they felt and shared the trauma. But they also felt so, because they reasoned that, if America could be struck at the heart of its power, it was the entire world that was threatened.

President Jacques Chirac, the first foreign Head of State to be received by President George Bush and to go to New York to the site of the catastrophe, expressed his complete solidarity and that of the French people with the American people and his total condemnation of this horrific attack, which has both shocked and appalled the entire world.

He reaffirmed the unfailing determination of France, a country that has many times been victim of acts of terrorism, to take part in the war against this scourge, which today must take on a new scale and new priority.

The attacks on 11 September will have a lasting and profound effect on the life and action of the international community. Resolute action by all our nations is required. The strategy to be implemented must be global and multifaceted. Every country will have to participate actively. As President Jacques Chirac said here on 19 September: "It is not just the fight of one country. It is the fight of the entire international community, which is committed to human rights and to human dignity."

By virtue of its universal composition and the powers it has under its Charter, the United Nations is the forum where countries have to mobilize and where the various elements of a coordinated response by our States must be formulated, with respect for the aims and principles enshrined in the Charter.

The very day of the attacks, and the following day, the Secretary-General, the General Assembly and the Security Council, through its resolution 1368 (2001), indicated their determination to act as one in waging this battle.

On the evening of Friday, 28 September, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1373 (2001), a resolution that will stand out in history. By virtue of its global and binding nature, this resolution traces the new and ambitious path to which the Council has resolutely committed itself in order to contribute to eradicating acts that constitute a threat to international

peace and security, such as those of 11 September. In accordance with the responsibilities and prerogatives conferred on it under the Charter, it is now up to the Security Council to take the necessary measures to ensure respect for the obligations spelled out in the resolution. To this end, and to underscore its determination to act, the Council has provided itself with a follow-up mechanism to ensure compliance by all States with the measures that have been decided, particularly with regard to acting against the financing of terrorism. The Security Council is thus emphasizing its resolve for sustained action.

As evidenced by its resolution 56/1, of 12 September, and by our debate today, the General Assembly is also determined to make its full contribution to the fight against terrorism. To do so it must mobilize all the mechanisms at its disposal in close consultation with the Security Council. It also falls to the Assembly to complete during this session the negotiations within the framework of the Sixth Committee on the two draft conventions on terrorism before it: the draft convention on nuclear terrorism presented by Russia and the draft global convention on terrorism presented by India.

The precedent set by the Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, which was introduced by France and adopted in December 1999 after only one year of negotiation, shows that if we are really resolved to act, we can together succeed quickly, in spite of the complex and sensitive nature of the subjects being addressed. France, together with its European Union partners, will spare no effort to facilitate the swift adoption by the Assembly of those two conventions.

Mr. Ahsan (Bangladesh): We are meeting here today against a sombre backdrop. The barbaric and catastrophic attacks on the landmarks of our host city and country three weeks back, resulting in a huge loss of human life and destruction of property, has been a terrible tragedy. The attacks on that fateful morning of September may have happened in the United States, but they were seen as a blow against all of humanity. Men and women from more than 60 countries, including my own, perished in that carnage. While the catastrophe may have left all of humanity stunned in horror, rarely have we seen such unity of purpose or resolve to stand up against such mindless acts of terror.

In the wake of the attacks, Bangladesh joined the international community in strongly condemning those senseless acts of violence. I take this opportunity to reiterate our sincere sympathy once again to the bereaved families. We also want them to know that the international community is behind them at this hour of grief and sorrow. As a peace-loving nation and as an elected member of the Security Council, Bangladesh gave its total support to the General Assembly and Security Council responses in the aftermath of the tragedy. We will continue to support efforts aimed at forging an international coalition against terrorism, and all relevant actions of the United Nations in that respect.

The people of Bangladesh joined the Government in expressing their support and solidarity to the Government and the people of the United States. The major political parties, members of civil society and the media stood in unity to form a broad national consensus to condemn the attack and to support global action against the perpetrators of such violence. With that objective in mind, the Government also responded positively to the request made by the United States to provide the necessary facilities and support for possible multinational action to combat terrorism. Our response stems from our principled position and our international commitment to fight this modern-day scourge. We condemn all acts of terrorism, irrespective of motive, as they violate the very norms of humanity, international law and human rights, and constitute a threat to international peace and security.

As the attacks of last month demonstrated, terrorism today is a global phenomenon posing a serious threat to international peace and security. The fight against terrorism therefore requires international understanding and concerted cooperation and action. In this context, we believe that the United Nations provides the best forum to bring the people of the world together to combat this menace by all means and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We share the Secretary-General's observation that only the United Nations can give global legitimacy to the long-term struggle against terrorism.

Bangladesh considers prevention and justice to be the twin objectives of this struggle. We are happy that the long engagement of the United Nations in the fight against international terrorism has been acknowledged. Its work kept pace with the evolving nature and scope of international terrorism. A fairly well-developed and

comprehensive legal framework has been elaborated by the United Nations to fight terrorism, including 12 international conventions complemented by a number of regional instruments. These agreements provide the basic legal tools to suppress terrorism and bring those responsible to justice. What is required at this hour is to muster the collective determination and will to implement these legal tools as instruments of action, with a global vision and flexible approach.

Bangladesh is party to a number of international and regional instruments on terrorism. We are currently in the process of examining the remaining instruments with a view to early accession to them. We also support the ongoing process to elaborate a comprehensive convention on terrorism, as we believe that there is a need for an overarching instrument to provide a possible basis for global consensus on dealing with terrorism.

We believe that the United Nations provides us with the forum not only for defining the juridical framework and principles to address terrorism, but also for building universal political understanding and forging a global coalition with full legitimacy to wage a war against international terrorism. The tragedy of 11 September provided the impetus for that. The Security Council and the General Assembly acted in line with the worldwide condemnation of these heinous acts. In its resolution 1368 (2001) the Security Council regarded these acts as a threat to international peace and security, expressed its readiness to take all necessary steps to respond to the terrorist attacks and called on all States to work together urgently to bring the perpetrators to justice.

For its part, the General Assembly, in resolution 56/1, called for urgent action to enhance international cooperation to prevent and eradicate acts of terrorism. We welcome the Security Council's unanimous adoption last Friday of resolution 1373 (2001), a wide-ranging, comprehensive resolution with steps and strategies to combat international terrorism. For our part, we will continue to support all measures for the prevention and elimination of terrorist acts within our own national means and as a partner in all multinational consensus efforts to do so.

As we all resolve to fight international terrorism, I believe that there is a need to understand and reflect on the climate that fosters terrorism. We must confront those conditions with courage, commitment and fortitude in order to rid the world of the possibility of such wanton acts of destruction. Reason and our desire for enduring peace should guide us at this critical moment. Our actions against terrorism should not in any way compromise the safety and well-being of innocent civilian populations, particularly women and children. In fact, we should seek to punish the perpetrators in order to make life safer for innocent civilians. We are indeed greatly concerned at the fast-unfolding humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan, involving innocent civilians and refugees, who are caught in a situation of double peril.

Last month's attacks helped the whole world close ranks against the perpetrators, and a great degree of international solidarity has been achieved. We should make every effort to build on this momentum to intensify our fight against terrorism. In fact, we should turn our grief into collective strength. We have to win the fight against terrorism with sense and sensibility. In that context, we would also appeal to all Member States, and particularly to their leaders and media managers, not to permit anything that might destroy this unity of purpose, something we cannot afford. Let us remind ourselves of what the Secretary-General said recently:

> "Let us therefore respond to it in a way that strengthens international peace and security, by cementing the ties among nations and not subjecting them to new strains." (*A/56/PV.7, p. 1*)

On 11 September we saw mindless violence destroy invaluable lives and property in our beloved host city. Many were filled with dismay, apprehension, despair, grief and anger. On the other hand, we have also witnessed a remarkable display of courage, sacrifice and heroism of epic proportions. I would conclude by paying a humble tribute to those brave men and women who served the cause of humanity in the wake of the tragic events and by expressing once again profound sympathy for the families of the victims.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): We speak today with heavy hearts. On 11 September 2001, the General Assembly was scheduled to have its regular opening of the fifty-sixth session. The date 11 September also marked the twentieth United Nations International Day of Peace. But instead of celebrating peace, we witnessed the horrific events in New York,

Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania, which shattered the world that we had grown accustomed to.

We in Singapore share the grief and pain of the people of the United States. Our heartfelt sympathy also goes out to the families of the victims of those senseless acts. In one day, terror invaded not only the United States, but also 80 other countries whose citizens lost their lives. As the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Colin Powell, said,

> "the World Trade Center was just that: the World Trade Center. And so it was an attack against Americans, it was an attack against Muslims, it was an attack against Jews, it was an attack against Africa and Asia and Europe, all parts of the world."

In the words of my Prime Minister,

> "The tragedy is a defining moment for the United States and for the world. Suddenly we all felt vulnerable to terrorism. Humanity and the civilized world have been attacked. The world as we knew it on 11 September 2001 has changed forever."

Singapore condemns in the strongest terms these attacks and all other forms of terrorism. The perpetrators of those terrible crimes cannot go unpunished. They must be brought to justice. Others must be deterred from contemplating similar horrific acts.

The United States and the international community will have to respond. Americans are not alone in this fight against terrorism. Singapore stands with the United States and with the international community in this struggle. This is a fight between people who stand for civilized society and those out to destroy it. This is not a fight against Islam. Muslims from all around the world, including Singapore Muslims, have expressed revulsion at the crimes committed in the name of their faith and have pledged their solidarity with the struggle. President Bush has also made it clear that this is a war against terrorism, not a fight against Islam.

We realize that it will be a long uphill struggle to make the world safer from terrorism. This is a deep-rooted problem that will not go away easily. The terrorists have obviously built up a sophisticated and complex global network, and other societies too are equally at risk. Countering terrorism must therefore be a global endeavour. Globally, we need to put together our collective will and wisdom to address the problem in all its dimensions. There will inevitably be sensitivities, domestic and regional, that will have to be managed. But we must accept those risks to create a better world.

To surgically remove terrorist cells, oftentimes a decisive, forceful response is necessary. That is an immediate response which we will have to make. But the task does not end there. To succeed in our ultimate goal, the driving forces of international terrorism must be rooted out and their networks comprehensively destroyed. In our mission to defeat international terrorism, a vigorous, sustained and comprehensive global strategy is needed. We will need to deepen and strengthen our international regimes on such matters as the legal frameworks for combating terrorism, exchange of information and ending the financing of terrorism, as well as more effective law enforcement action.

Our problem is that, despite the fact that terrorism is not a new phenomenon — indeed, many of us all around the globe have had unhappy experiences with it — coherence in international cooperation has been sadly lacking. Terrorism has been on the agenda at international gatherings for several years. The Group of 8 has had annual discussions on it. Several major treaties have been negotiated under United Nations auspices. But to date, the prevailing attitude has been that the problem could and should be managed primarily by domestic and regional measures. The commitment to multilateralism and collaborative international action was simply not a priority.

This must change, and it must change quickly. We welcome the swift action of the Security Council and of the General Assembly in adopting resolutions 1368 (2001) and 56/1, respectively, on 12 September. We also welcome the follow-up efforts in resolution 1373 (2001), which was adopted unanimously by the Council last Friday. That resolution puts in place the overall framework for vigorous international action against terrorism. It is, in many ways, an unprecedented action by the Security Council, and its swift adoption is telling testimony to the renewed commitment to win this war.

These positive steps must be sustained and built upon. As our Secretary-General has reminded us, the United Nations can give global legitimacy to the long-

term struggle against terrorism. The time has never been more urgent for all organs of the United Nations to examine their respective responsibilities and tools at their disposal so as to undertake this collaborative mission in the most effective manner.

The problem of international terrorism is not going to disappear soon. In the short term, it is likely to get worse. No one is immune. Security, once measured by the might of a nation's army, is now a matter of protecting individuals against the risks of living in an open global community. Terrorists do not discriminate among their victims.

Singapore, too, has had its own experiences with terrorist attacks. We suffered a terrorist attack by the Japanese Red Army on a ferry, the Laju, in 1974. In 1991 we had to deal with the hijacking by Pakistani militants of a Singapore Airlines aircraft. We have seen victims of terrorism all over the world. We have witnessed the indelible images of Japanese commuters struggling for air after the Aum Shinrikyo sarin gas attacks on 20 March 1995, the dramatic hostage drama in Peru that clouded Christmas in 1996, and the destruction of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, which, as former United States President Bill Clinton pointed out to the General Assembly that year, resulted in more Kenyan and Tanzanian casualties than American casualties. He said:

> "For every American killed there, roughly 20 Africans were murdered and 500 more injured". *(A/53/PV.7, p. 10)*.

The Chinese term for crisis is appropriately designated by two Chinese characters meaning "danger" and "opportunity". The dangers are clear, but the opportunity before us today is to channel the global outrage following the events of 11 September into a strong global commitment and action to eradicate the scourge of terrorism. Divisions among us will hand victory to the terrorists. Martin Luther King Jr. said:

> "We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools."

Mr. Mejdoub (Tunisia) (*spoke in Arabic*): My delegation associates itself with the statement to be made by the Group of Arab States by its Chairman for the month, and would like also to make some additional observations in its national capacity.

This session of the General Assembly is considering measures to eliminate international terrorism, in the wake of the recent tragic events in Washington, D.C., Pennsylvania, and New York City, which hosts this international Organization, encompassing all peace-loving people.

In the wake of these criminal, inhumane and immoral attacks, which led to the deaths of thousands of innocent victims, Tunisia — like the rest of the world — has condemned in the strongest terms these acts of terrorism, in a manifestation of solidarity that has made it absolutely clear that the scourge of terrorism can be eliminated only through international cooperation.

The recent attacks against the United States have shown the real face of the phenomenon of fanaticism and the danger that fanatical movements represent at the international level for peoples and for the security of States. In fact, they pose a threat to humankind as a whole. This phenomenon requires that a firm stance be taken by the international community as a whole to eliminate it completely and without delay.

Tunisia has since 1988 been at the forefront of those calling attention to the dangers of terrorism. We have drawn attention to this grave danger on many occasions and in many international and regional forums, calling for a unity of vision to confront this serious phenomenon and to find ways and means, at the international level, to foil its plans, eliminate all the dangers it poses and deprive it of its resources and financing.

The adoption by the Security Council of resolution 1373 (2001) on 28 September 2001 constitutes, in our view, an extremely important first step towards containing this scourge. Tunisia, during the consideration of that resolution, reasserted the importance of adopting a comprehensive plan to eradicate the various unjustifiable manifestations of terrorism. International terrorist networks exist that flout the noble and lofty principles of international law, of humanity and of religions and exploit them in order to jeopardize peace and security in many nations. Those networks should be the focus of all those States that, indirectly and perhaps inadvertently, sometimes allow them to exist on their territories to commit actions that endanger the safety and security of other States by spreading of the culture of fanaticism, leading to terrorism and to the formation of additional

fanatical movements that use modern means — information technology, satellite broadcasts — to spread their destructive ideas.

Having witnessed such appalling terrorist acts and having been informed of the existence of international terrorist networks that plan, finance and carry out such crimes, we cannot fail to ensure that all legal measures are taken to combat these extremist elements in all States so that they are prevented from freely spreading their extremist, destructive dogma.

In this regard, I should like once again, from this rostrum and in the context of this very delicate international situation, to call attention once again to the importance of ensuring that terrorists are prevented from obtaining so-called political asylum, which in itself is a noble principle, but also enables them to spread their poisonous ideology, thereby endangering peace and security throughout the world and threatening stability and innocent civilians and peoples.

Containing these terrorist elements and giving careful consideration to their cases is a responsibility incumbent upon the entire international community. Recent events have made it abundantly clear that terrorism does not discriminate between States, peoples or religions. No country is immune to terrorism, particularly since it is now clear that terrorism has stricken States where the terrorists themselves live, enjoy asylum and freely go about their activities.

Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), aimed at containing and eradicating the phenomenon of international terrorism, will not lead us to our desired objectives unless international efforts are truly concerted, with responsibilities clearly delineated, and focused on fanatical and extremist movements at the international level with the aim of depriving them of their sources of financing, mobilization and training throughout the world. It is particularly important to contain and eradicate all forms of support for and assistance to individuals and groups that are directly or indirectly connected to the international terrorist network or that have been implicated in racist operations, including elements that have been prosecuted in their home countries for terrorist activities.

The fight against terrorism has many dimensions, particularly the preventive one. At the national level, poverty, deprivation and marginalization all fuel terrorism and fanaticism. Since the changes of 7 November 1987, effected under the leadership of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Tunisia has drafted a comprehensive national policy, through the establishment of a culture of tolerance, moderation and openness, to prevent terrorism and to eradicate all manifestations of fanaticism. We have focused on the social, economic and political spheres in order to guarantee the full participation of all Tunisian citizens in all activities of their society by expanding the basis of their institutions and by enforcing laws guaranteeing the freedoms and political rights of all to participate in shaping the future of their country under the umbrella of the Constitution, national consensus, security and stability. The President of Tunisia has made it clear that our political, social and economic gains have made us stronger in the face of every form of challenge.

The prevention of international terrorism is extremely important, as the President has made abundantly clear. It must begin with the search for peaceful solutions to the various regional conflicts and the elimination of all hotbeds of tension, which fanatical and extremist movements always exploit for purposes in no way related to lofty humanitarian principles. The international community should focus on hotbeds of tension and various regional conflicts, particularly the conflict in the Middle East, on the basis of the relevant resolutions of international legitimacy, which should be implemented without the application of double standards.

International peace and security can only be based on justice and equity. So long as the international community fails to act on the basis of these principles, the international terrorist network will have leeway to spread terror and destruction throughout the world and to exploit the differences and gaps among the various civilized societies of the international community in general, and in particular between Arabs and Muslims on one side and other nations and peoples of the West on the other. Terrorism has no culture or religion and is not particular to any one culture or people. Terrorism is a common enemy that should be faced collectively.

While we reiterate our position of principle with regard to this dangerous phenomenon, we strongly condemn such terrorist acts and will continue to work with all States of the world to stand up to this threat through all legitimate ways and means, within national and international legal frameworks and through bilateral conventions. We have signed many regional conventions against terrorism in the context of the

League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization of African Unity. We have also acceded to 10 international conventions and are currently considering accession to the remaining two — the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism — which we look forward to signing before the end of the year.

My delegation believes that the conclusion of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism is closely linked to the many aspects of that phenomenon, particularly those that have not been addressed by earlier conventions. The comprehensive convention will promote joint international action to eliminate this scourge.

Mr. Mbanefo (Nigeria): This is a very sad and sombre moment for all people around the globe. The events of 11 September have deeply traumatized us all — not just by the magnitude of the casualties or the physical damage, all of which are mind-boggling, but by the scope and the brazen manner in which the attacks were organized and executed.

This debate is undoubtedly a demonstration of how the international community has been galvanized by these condemnable and barbaric attacks on our host country. My delegation expresses its heartfelt sympathy to the Government and the people of the United States of America over this tragedy. Our thoughts and prayers are with the victims and their families at this very difficult time.

Nigeria is deeply concerned about acts of international terrorism, of which we have all been victims recently. In 1998, in the terrorist attack on the American Embassy in Tanzania, the Nigerian Embassy building was also destroyed. In the 11 September terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, many Nigerian citizens lost their lives, while some remain critically wounded in hospitals. Many foreign nationals from different countries also perished in the attacks. Terrorism is no respecter of national boundaries or frontiers. Terrorism does not respect any nationality, religion, race or ethnic group. After all, the casualties of the 11 September attacks cut across all religions, races and nationalities. Indeed, there is no country in the world today where there are no foreign nationals.

Terrorism is a global menace. It is, indeed, a scourge which needs to be confronted head-on. It is a violation of our fundamental human rights, especially the right to life and to peaceful coexistence. The terror and tragedy that terrorists unleash on innocent and unsuspecting citizens pose a serious threat to the stability of all societies. They threaten existing democratic institutions. Emerging democracies are very vulnerable to the tragedy which such terrorist attacks cause. That is why the international community must be very determined and firm in its resolve to confront and defeat terrorists and their networks and collaborators.

The United Nations has played, and must continue to play, a leading role in the fight against terrorism. In its 1994 Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, the United Nations declared that actions of terrorists are criminal acts which are

> "in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them" (*resolution 49/60, annex, para. 3*).

The Security Council and the General Assembly have, in various resolutions, condemned all forms of terrorism. In its resolution 1269 (1999), the Security Council unequivocally condemned all acts, methods and practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation, in all their forms and manifestations, wherever and by whomsoever committed. The establishment under resolution 51/210 of the Ad Hoc Committee was an important milestone in United Nations efforts to combat terrorism.

Two recently adopted Conventions — the 1997 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism — are, no doubt, the result of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee and subsequent meetings of the working group within the context of the Sixth Committee. Such sectoral or specific conventions can be effective only when there is universal adherence to them. Nigeria has signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. As a result of the escalation of terrorist activities around the world, Nigeria will revisit the entire body of international instruments relating to terrorism with a view to becoming parties to them. We therefore urge States Members of the United Nations which have not done so to consider becoming parties to the thematic

instruments on terrorism. If they did so, the international community would strengthen the criminalization of specific manifestations of terrorism.

In spite of the existence of about 12 sectoral conventions, as well as regional instruments related to international terrorism, General Assembly resolution 54/110 called for the elaboration of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. We appreciate the Indian initiative in this regard, and we believe that the draft comprehensive convention submitted by India forms a good basis for further consideration of the matter. However, the Nigerian delegation subscribes to the view that a comprehensive convention would be an invaluable contribution to, and a useful tool in, the struggle against terrorism. We believe that such a convention should be truly comprehensive, covering all aspects of terrorism, as well as breaking new ground.

Given the menace of terrorism and the callousness of those involved in such heinous crimes, one important aspect requiring the international community to be on its guard is weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear terrorism. If terrorists are allowed to have access to nuclear materials, as well as chemical and biological substances, then humanity may be headed for an abrupt end.

It is against this background that we support the draft convention against nuclear terrorism. Most of the provisions of the draft convention against nuclear terrorism have been agreed to on the basis of the draft text proposed by the Russian Federation. We therefore urge an early resolution of the outstanding issues so as to facilitate the early adoption of the convention.

There is a need for international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. The network of international cooperation must be expanded and strengthened if the menace of terrorism is to be eliminated. In recent times, terrorists have become more sophisticated in their strategies and activities. There is an intrinsic link between terrorists and the flourishing illicit trade in small arms, drug-trafficking, money-laundering and the smuggling of diamonds and other forms of precious stones. There should be an exchange of information among States with regard to the movement and activities of terrorists and their organizations. We believe that States have the obligation, under existing international instruments on terrorism, to prevent and suppress, in their respective domains, acts of terrorism. States should refrain from instigating, facilitating, encouraging, financing and organizing terrorist activities and from providing safe haven for terrorists and their organizations.

There has been a proposal to convene a high-level conference on terrorism to formulate a joint organized response of the international community to terrorism. Notwithstanding the scepticism expressed by some delegations as to the practical benefits and the likelihood of concrete results from such a conference, it is the view of my delegation that the conference should be organized at the level of heads of State or Government, under the aegis of the United Nations. Such a conference would facilitate a consensus on strategies for combating terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

The world has a responsibility to find the root causes of terrorism. One pertinent question may be asked: what makes someone so desperate that he will give his life to kill others and reverse global progress in the manner we witnessed on 11 September 2001 in New York and Washington?

This debate would achieve nothing if at the end no conclusions were reached on solutions, which will be in three stages: the immediate, medium and long term. The General Assembly must pursue this all-important issue through its normal channels.

Nigeria unequivocally condemns the recent terrorist attacks in the United States. The attacks typify the extent to which terrorists can translate their evil intentions into action, unmindful of the incalculable pain and damage which they inflict on the society. The international community must not allow such faceless criminals to continue to spread fear and havoc in our society. Therefore, the response to terrorism must be global and well coordinated. But our response will be effective only if we stand united and openly and manifestly take action against terrorists and their networks. In the words of President Olusegun Obasanjo,

> "Terrorism and terrorists must never be given comfort. The spirit of democracy must never be downcast, but must be buoyed up and made unconquerable."

Nigeria will participate in any meaningful discussion, on either a bilateral or multilateral level, aimed at confronting this serious threat to international peace and security. We will work together with countries within the United Nations to find a lasting solution to the problem of terrorism. We are confident that, through mutual cooperation and through the

implementation of relevant international instruments on terrorism, the international community will rid itself of this plague.

Mrs. Fritsche (Liechtenstein): We welcome this opportunity to speak on the issue of international terrorism. We thank the European Union for its initiative to move the issue to the attention of a larger public, which the plenary meetings of the General Assembly provide. The United Nations has to assert its leadership role in designing an international response to the threat posed by international terrorism. Our Organization is designed for action, not merely discussion, and we believe in a strong role for the General Assembly in this respect.

The date 11 September will go down in history as a day of disgrace and inhumanity. The deliberate targeting of civilians, a disturbing trend over the past few years, reached a sad and tragic peak. But 11 September should also mark a turning point in multilateral cooperation. We are all challenged to understand and tackle the harsh realities of a changed world. There are no safe places. We are all vulnerable, and therefore we all need each other.

The recognition of a need for enhanced international cooperation was almost unanimous immediately after the attacks. This body and this Organization are now asked to turn this abstract call into concrete action.

The Security Council has just adopted a far-reaching resolution, which obliges all States to cooperate in the fight against terrorism. Resolution 1373 (2001) is of the utmost importance, in that it shows the commitment of this Organization to live up to its leadership role. It also provides the United Nations with a set of tools to significantly enhance international cooperation in our common fight. The determination of the Council to live up to its responsibilities is welcome, and we are committed to contributing to the implementation of this resolution in a transparent and fair manner.

Liechtenstein condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, regardless of the reasons that may be invoked to justify it. We are already a State party to the majority of the set of United Nations conventions to combat terrorism. As an additional step of particular significance, the Foreign Minister of Liechtenstein will sign tomorrow the Convention on the financing of terrorism. We are committed to its early ratification, in particular, in the light of the fact that the implementation of its main thrust will form part of our national implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). Liechtenstein is determined to prevent and criminalize the financing of terrorism and to act as the reliable partner that we have been in the past in eradicating international organized crime.

We further believe that the international community must stay true to its fundamental values in the common fight against terrorism. Full respect for the rule of law and existing international legal standards in the area of human rights, including those relating to refugee law, is of the highest importance for our common endeavour.

Bringing to justice those who commit egregious crimes, such as those witnessed on 11 September, undoubtedly also requires enhanced cooperation in judicial matters. A functioning system of international criminal law, as established in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, is the most effective expression of such international cooperation. There can be no doubt, to our mind, that crimes of such magnitude as the ones we all witnessed barely three weeks ago constitute crimes against humanity as defined in the Statute. We hope that the understanding of the International Criminal Court as an ideal tool to bring such criminals to justice will lead to the Statute's early entry into force. Liechtenstein will make its own contribution to that end tomorrow by depositing its instrument of ratification with the Secretary-General.

The challenge which this Assembly faces in the light of international terrorism is enormous indeed. Its ongoing work to establish an international legal framework must be continued and finalized. The Assembly has the main responsibility to address the root causes of terrorism as the only way of addressing this scourge in the long term.

The threat posed by potential terrorist acts through weapons of mass destruction is today a real one. We have to find effective ways to combat this threat and to prevent a catastrophe of unimaginable dimensions. Establishing or strengthening existing verification regimes in related fields of disarmament must constitute an important element of these efforts.

Finally, we have to give increased attention to the issue of non-State actors, both in legal and in practical terms. The traditional system of international law is designed to rule a world of States and functioning Governments. We have learned the hard way that this no longer meets the realities of today's world.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.